

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 IOE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03

H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-05 OIC-02 AF-06 ARA-06 EA-06

NEA-10 SSO-00 SAM-01 SAJ-01 BIB-01 OMB-01 /107 W

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P R 241701Z JUN 75

FM USMISSION USUN NEWYORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 850

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 3124

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, MARR, UR

SUBJ: PEACEKEEPING GUIDELINES: MISSION CONCLUDES US/USSR

DIFFERENCES CANNOT BE RECONCILED & RECOMMENDS

PEACEKEEPING COMMITTEE NEGOTIATIONS BE SUSPENDED

REFS: A) STATE 128649

B) STATE 138347

C) STATE 138350

& PREVIOUS

SUMMARY & RECOMMENDATION: INTENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS ON PEACEKEEPING GUIDELINES THIS SPRING, BOTH IN PEACEKEEPING COMMITTEE WORKING GROUP AND IN QUADRIPARTITE TALKS, HAVE SHOWN THAT UNBRIDGEABLE GAP EXISTS BETWEEN US AND USSR ON WHETHER UNSYG SHOULD CONTROL AND DIRECT PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS OR WHETHER A SUBSIDIARY SECURITY COUNCIL COMMITTEE SHOULD PERFORM THAT FUNCTION. TO MAKE CERTAIN WE WERE CORRECT IN BELIEVING THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY OF RECONCILING THE TWO POSITIONS, WE MET BILATERALLY WITH SOVIETS LATE SECRET

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LAST WEEK. OUR PURPOSE WAS TO SEE IF FARTHEST US WAS PREPARED

TO MOVE TOWARD SOVIET POSITION ON AN ARTICLE 29 COMMITTEE  
GUIDELINE HAD CHANCE OF BEING FAR ENOUGH. SOVIET DELEGATION  
HAD, AS IT TURNED OUT, RECENTLY RECEIVED NEW INSTRUCTIONS  
ON THIS KEY ISSUE, WHICH WERE FAR MORE RIGID THAN WE (AND  
WE BELIEVE THEY) HAD EXPECTED. SOVIET DELEGATION WAS  
INSTRUCTED TO ACCEPT NOTHING THAT DID NOT EXPLICITLY PROVIDE  
FOR PERMANENT MEMBER CONTROL OF OPERATIONS AT EVERY STAGE  
THROUGH A SUBSIDIARY COMMITTEE, INCLUDING THE RIGHT OF VETO  
BY CHALLENGE. IN ADDITION, MOSCOW COULD AGREE TO NO GUIDELINE  
STATING THAT SYG DIRECTS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS. WITH GAP  
THIS WIDE, WE AND SOVIET DELEGATION CONCLUDED THERE WAS NO  
POSSIBILITY NOW OF NEGOTIATING A GUIDELINES AGREEMENT.  
RATHER THAN LET PEACEKEEPING COMMITTEE NEGOTIATIONS DRAG  
ON WITH INCREASING FUTILITY AND ACRIMONY, WE AGREED TO  
RECOMMEND TO OUR GOVERNMENTS THAT THEY REGRETFULLY BE  
SUSPENDED, WITH RECOGNITION THAT DIFFERING PERCEPTIONS  
WOULD NOT ALLOW CONCLUSION OF MEANINGFUL GUIDELINES. I  
ASK DEPARTMENT'S AGREEMENT TO THIS RECOMMENDATION. END SUMMARY

1. HAVING RECEIVED FROM DEPARTMENT INSTRUCTIONS ON MAXIMUM  
US WAS PREPARED TO MOVE TOWARD GREATER SC CONTROL ON KEY  
GUIDELINES COVERING ARTICLE 29 COMMITTEE AND SYG (REFTELS),  
WE DECIDED TO MEET PRIVATELY WITH SOVIETS TO ATTEMPT DISCOVER  
WHETHER BASIS FOR CONTINUED NEGOTIATIONS EXISTED. BEFORE  
SETTING UP MEETING, WE OBTAINED TELEPHONIC AUTHORITY FROM IO  
AND L TO PUT FORWARD ON PERSONAL, AD REFERENDUM BASIS ONE  
FINAL CONCESSION. THIS WAS THAT ARTICLE 29 COMMITTEE GUIDELINE  
COULD REQUIRE PERMANENT MEMBER UNANIMITY ON DECISION TO  
TRANSMIT COMMITTEE'S VIEWS AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO SC.  
(TEXT OF GUIDELINE WITH THIS LANGUAGE POCHED ADDRESSEES.)  
ONE CAVEAT TO THIS PROPOSAL WAS THAT THOUGHT WE WOULD NOT  
OPPOSE FOUR-POWER GROUP TABLING THIS LANGUAGE IF BRITISH  
AND FRENCH AGREED (WHICH PRIVATELY THEY TOLD US THEY  
WOULD,) WE COULD HOLD OUT NO HOPE THAT US WOULD GIVE VIGOROUS  
PUBLIC SUPPORT TO PERMANENT MEMBER UNANIMITY. REASON WAS  
SIMPLY THAT WE, LIKE BRITISH AND FRENCH, CONTINUED TO BELIEVE  
THERE WAS NOT THE REMOTEST CHANCE THAT NON-ALIGNED WOULD  
AGREE TO EXTENDING VETO INTO A SUBSIDIARY COMMITTEE.

2. MEETING TOOK PLACE AT SMUN AFTERNOON JUNE 19 BETWEEN  
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INFO OCT-01 IOE-00 ISO-00 AF-06 ARA-06 EA-06 EUR-12 NEA-10

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 3124

6. AT CONCLUSION OF DISCUSSION WE AGREED RECOMMEND TO OUR CAPITALS THAT US AND SOVIET DELEGATIONS SEEK INDEFINITE SUSPENSION OF PEACEKEEPING COMMITTEE NEGOTIATIONS. IF WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW AGREE TO THIS IN PRINCIPLE, TWO DELEGATIONS FELT FIRST STEP SHOULD BE TO EXPLAIN SITUATION TO PEACEKEEPING COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN OGBU, ASKING HIS ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE IN WINDING UP COMMITTEE'S WORK IN AN ORDERLY WAY. NEITHER WE NOR SOVIETS BELIEVE NON-ALIGNED ARE SUFFICIENTLY ENGAGED IN THIS EXERCISE TO TRY AND BLOCK SUSPENSION.

7. LATE JUNE 20, FOLLOWING BILATERAL MEETING, FOUR-POWER GROUP HELD REGULARLY SCHEDULED DISCUSSION. OVINNIKOV RAN THROUGH HIS NEW INSTRUCTIONS, DESCRIBING "ESSENTIAL CRITERIA" FOR ARTICLE 29 COMMITTEE GUIDELINE IN SAME TERMS AS HE HAD TO US. BRITISH AND FRENCH EXPRESSED UNHAPPINESS AT SOVIET RETREAT TO TRADITIONAL DOGMA AFTER WHAT HAD SEEMED LIKE SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS IN QUADRIPARTITE GROUP. UK DEL SAID OVINNIKOV READ HIS INSTRUCTIONS SO PERFUNCTORILY THAT HE APPEARED TO HAVE NO EXPECTATION THAT THEY WOULD BE TAKEN  
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SERIOUSLY. THERE WAS NO SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF NEXT STEPS; HOWEVER, IT WAS AGREED NOT TO SCHEDULE FURTHER QUADRIpartite TALKS UNTIL SITUATION CLARIFIED. (NEXT WORKING GROp MEETING IS SCHEDULED FOR AFTERNOON JUNE 26.)

8. COMMENT: WHILE WE ARE CONVINCED US AND SOVIET POSITIONS CANNOT NOW BE BRIDGED, THERE IS AN ALTERNATIVE TO WINDING UP NEGOTIATIONS SMOOTHLY WHICH WE BELIEVE DEPARTMENT MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER. THIS IS TO CARRY ATTACK TO SOVIETS, ENGAGING IN A POLEMICAL, FINGER-POINTING DEBATE AT USSR INTRANSIGENCE IN PEACEKEEPING WORKING GROUP. FULL COMMITTEE AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY. WE BELIEVE WE WOULD COME OUT ON TOP IN SUCH A DEBATE, PARTLY BECAUSE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN AND MOST WORKING GROUP MEMBERS ARE AWARE USSR IS PRINCIPALLY TO BLAME FOR LACK OF PROGRESS (USUN 1817). FROM MISSION'S PERSPECTIVE, HOWEVER, A COLD WAR CONFRONTATION OF THIS SORT WOULD HAVE UNDESIRABLE FALLOUT. IT WOULD SOUR WORKING RELATIONS IN AREAS LIKE CHARTER REVIEW WHERE WE MUST WORK CLOSELY WITH SOVIETS, AND WOULD DAMAGE IMPRESSION IN UN THAT PEACEKEEPING IS AN AREA IN WHICH US AND USSR HAVE TAKEN DETENTE SERIOUSLY. I THEREFORE RECOMMEND MISSION BE AUTHORIZED TO UNDERTAKE CONSULTATIONS LOOKING TOWARD SUSPENSION OF PEACEKEEPING NEGOTIATIONS WITH A MINIMUM OF POLEMICS.  
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